

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1875

INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

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AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

USINT HAVANA

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 02343

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG

SUBJECT: MISSION'S ASSESSMENT OF THE HAVANA NON-ALIGNED
MEETING

REF: STATE 142045

1. SUMMARY: THIS CABLE ADDS MISSION'S VIEWS TO DEPARTMENT'S COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS (REFTEL). FROM THE MISSION'S CONTACTS WITH NON-ALIGNED MISSIONS IN NEW YORK, IT APPEARS THAT THE RECENT HAVANA MEETING OF THE NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING BUREAU WAS ONE OF THE MOST INTERNALLY DIVISIVE ON RECORD. THE CUBANS, WITH CONSIDERABLE SKILL. TRIED HARD TO GUIDE THE MEETING TOWARD ANTI-WEST POSITIONS WHILE MAINTAINING AN IMAGE OF CUBAN FLEXIBILITY AND MODERATION. ON THOSE GLOBAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES OF REAL IDEOLOGICAL CONCERN TO THEM, THE CUBANS RAN INTO STIFF AND OFTEN EFFECTIVE RESISTANCE FROM AROUSED TRADITIONAL "MODERATES" IN THE NAM, MOST NOTABLY INDIA. WELL ORGANIZED GROUPS OF OTHER "RADICAL" STATES HAD SUBSTANTIAL SUCCESS IN PROMOTING THEIR VIEWS IN SECTIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST, SAHARA, MAYOTTE, AND KOREA ALTHOUGH "MODERATES" FORCED SOME COMPROMISES IN THOSE AREAS. WHILE THE MEETING'S COMMUNIQUE ENDED UP RATHER MORE "RADICAL" THAN LAST YEAR'S, RENEWED VIGOR BY SEVERAL KEY "MODERATES" IN DEFENDING THEIR INTERESTS, AND WIDESPREAD USE OF RESERVATIONS, PORTEND CONTINUING DIVISIVENESS IN THE NAM, DESPITE COMMON CALLS FOR UNITY. END SUMMARY.

2. BASED ON ITS CONTACTS IN NEW YORK, MISSION ADDS
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THE FOLLOWING POSTSCRIPT TO THE DEPARTMENT'S ANALYSIS
OF THE HAVANA MEETING:

- (A) CUBA. CUBA MAINTAINS HER IDEOLOGICALLY-ROOTED AMBITION OF TRYING TO PUSH THE NAM TOWARD A MORE AVOWEDLY PRO-"SOCIALIST", ANTI-WEST COURSE. THE HAVANA MEETING, HOWEVER, ILLUSTRATED THAT CUBAN TACTICS HAVE BECOME EXTREMELY SOPHISTICATED, AS THE CUBANS JUGGLE THEIR OFTEN CONFLICTING OBJECTIVES OF GUIDING THE NAM IN THEIR DESIRED DIRECTION WHILE ATTEMPTING TO MAINTAIN THE UNITY AND GOOD-WILL OF THE MOVEMENT TO INSURE LONG TERM CUBAN INFLUENCE. THE BASIC CUBAN TACTIC LEADING UP TO AND DURING HAVANA WAS TO SHOW THEIR TEETH ONLY ON THOSE ISSUES FOR WHICH (1) THERE WAS INTENSE CUBAN INTEREST AND (2) NO OTHER "RADICAL" STATE WAS WILLING AND ABLE TO TAKE THE LEAD. IN ADDITION, THE CUBANS AT HAVANA ADROITLY USED THE POWERS OF THE HOST COUNTRY BY (1) A SUPERB ADMINISTRATIVE JOB WHICH GAINED UNIVERSAL PRAISE (2) ADROITLY STACKING THE KEY COMMITTEES WITH THEIR FRIENDS (IN PARTICULAR, GUIDING THE CHOICE OF ANGOLA (WITH AN IRAQI DEPUTY) TO CHAIR THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND LOADING THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE'S DRAFTING GROUP IN FAVOR OF

"RADICALS"). IN MOST OTHER ASPECTS, THE CUBANS EFFECTIVELY PRESENTED A PICTURE OF MODERATION. THEY DID NOT PRESS HARD TO HAVE THE MEETING IN HAVANA, ALLOWING BUDGETARY AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS TO LET THE MEETING FALL INTO THEIR LAP. THE CUBAN DRAFT COMMUNIQUE, WHILE NO PICTURE OF MODERATION, WAS IN FACT CONSIDERABLY LESS EXTREME IN MANY SECTIONS THAN THE DRAFT FINALLY ADOPTED. THE CUBANS TOOK A SECONDARY ROLE IN DIVISIVE DEBATES ON THE MOST CONTENTIOUS REGIONAL ISSUES.

- (B) THE COMMUNIQUE. THE CUBANS WERE EXTREMELY FLEXIBLE (AND READILY ACQUIESCED TO WHOLESAL REDRAFTING) ON THOSE SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIQUE NOT OF PRIMARY

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INTEREST TO THEM. THEY SUCCESSFULLY RELIED ON OTHER "RADICAL" STATES TO TAKE THE LEAD ON ISSUES OF DIRECT REGIONAL CONCERN TO THOSE STATES. THE SECTIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST, PALESTINE, SAHARA, MAYOTTE, AND KOREA ENDED UP TOUGHER THAN THE CUBAN ORIGINAL DRAFT BUT THE CUBANS WERE NOT OUT FRONT IN PROMOTING THAT RESULT. NAM "MODERATES" REMEMBER ANGOLA, IRAQ, SYRIA, ALGERIA, PLO, VIETNAM AND NORTH KOREA--MORE SO THAN CUBA--AS THE "EXTREMISTS" ON THESE CONTENTIOUS REGIONAL ISSUES.

- (C) ROLE OF THE "MODERATES". WHILE MOST OF THE OUTWARD ACTION TOOK PLACE ON THE ISSUES OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND SAHARA, MISSION BELIEVES THAT THE MOST SIGNIFICANT BATTLE IN HAVANA TOOK PLACE MORE QUIETLY AS A FEW "MODERATES" AND "RADICALS" SQUARED OFF ON DEFINING NON-ALIGNMENT AND ON THE ISSUES OF DISARMAMENT AND DETENTE. THESE WERE THE ISSUES (ALONG WITH SEVERAL LATIN AMERICAN ITEMS) WHERE THE CUBANS TOOK A DIRECT, ACTIVE LEADERSHIP ROLE AND FOUGHT HARD FOR THEIR POINTS OF VIEW. THESE WERE ALSO THE ISSUE (ALONG WITH THE SAME LATIN AMERICAN ITEMS) WHERE THE FINAL DRAFT COMMUNIQUE ENDED UP MORE MODERATE THAN THE CUBAN ORIGINAL. MISSION SURMISES THAT THERE WERE SEVERAL REASONS FOR THIS RESULT: (1) OLD LINE NAM "MODERATES" (INDIA, YUGOSLAVIA, SRI LANKA) SAW, AS DID THE CUBANS, THE SECTIONS ON "NON-ALIGNMENT", DISARMAMENT AND DETENTE AS THE IDEOLOGICAL GUTS OF THE COMMUNIQUE AND WORTH FIGHTING ON; (2) THESE ISSUES WERE PHILOSOPHICAL AND GLOBAL--THUS THERE WAS NONE OF THE RELUCTANCE NAM MEMBERS OFTEN SEEM TO SHOW FOR INTERVENING IN SOMEONE ELSE'S REGIONAL QUARREL; (3) INDIA, CONFIDENTIAL

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PRIMARILY IN THE PERSON OF ITS CLEVER AND WIDELY RESPECTED UN AMB JAIPAL, LED A DETERMINED RESISTANCE TO CUBAN

INITIATIVES ON THESE ISSUES, WITH NOTABLE SUCCESSES (ALONG WITH SOME FAILURES). IN THE END, THE SECTION ON DISARMAMENT ENDED UP ABOUT THE SAME AS IT HAD AT THE 1976 DELHI BUREAU MINISTERIAL AND THE SECTIONS DEALING WITH "NON-ALIGNMENT" AND "DETENTE" SOMEWHAT MORE EXTREME THAN DELHI. NONETHELESS, HAVING THE ADVANTAGE OF THE "HOME FIELD", THE CUBANS STILL HAD TO SETTLE FOR SUBSTANTIALLY LESS THAN THEY WANTED ON THESE THREE ISSUES OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO THEM. IN PARTICULAR, THE INDIANS WERE ABLE TO BALANCE A NUMBER OF KEY CUBAN PHRASES WHICH CAST ONLY THE WEST IN THE ROLE OF VILLAIN, TO REAFFIRM NON-ALIGNMENT AS STANDING APART FROM BOTH SUPER-POWER BLOCS, AND TO EXCISE SOVIET-INSPIRED PORTIONS, E.G.; WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, NEUTRON BOMB.

- (D) REGIONAL ISSUES

- 1. MIDDLE EAST. NAM DELEGATIONS HERE CITE THREE FACTORS FOR THE UNPRECEDENTED HARSHNESS OF THE HAVANA COMMUNIQUE ON THIS ISSUE: A) THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING BUREAU (NACB), AND HENCE OF THE HAVANA NACB MEETING, WAS HEAVILY STACKED FAVOR OF THE "RADICAL" ARAB DELEGATIONS (SYRIA, IRAQ, ALGERIA AND PLO ON THE ONE HAND; SUDAN ON THE OTHER. THE EGYPTIANS WERE PRESENT ONLY AS OBSERVERS, WITH LIMITED RIGHTS OF FORMAL PARTICIPATION). THE MIDDLE EAST DEBATES IN HAVANA WERE .VERY MUCH AN INTER-ARAB QUARREL. NAM STATES FROM OUTSIDE THE REGION, AS IN OTHER CASES OF REGIONAL INFIGHTING WITHIN THE NAM, WERE RELUCTANT TO TAKE SIDES, LEAVING SUDAN AND EGYPT BADLY OUTGUNNED;B) THE AT HAVANA WAS FOCUSSED SOLELY ON AVOIDING DIRRRSM OF SADAT AND HIS INITIATIVE. THE PRICE THE EGYPTIANS

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WERE WILLING TO PAY FOR MUTING CRITICISM OF SADAT WAS
ACCEPTANCE OF OVERALL EXTREMIST LANGUAGE, INCLUDING
DIRECT CRITICISM OF THE UNITED STATES. IN SHORT, WITH THE
NACB ARAB GROUP DOMINATED BY "RADICALS", WITH EGYPT
FOCUSSING ON ONLY ONE ASPECT, AND WITH NON-ARABS ON THE
SIDELINES, THE OVERALL EXTREMIST RESULT WAS INEVITABLE;
C) THERE IS A BROAD CONSENSUS IN THE NAM THAT "THINGS
HAVE GOTTEN WORSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST" (ISRAELI "INTRANSI-
GENCY" REGARDING SETTLEMENTS, ETC.). IN THIS CLIMATE
"MODERATES" WERE LESS WILLING THAN EVER TO LAUNCH AN
UNPOPULAR, DIVISIVE, AND PROBABLY UNPRODUCTIVE ATTEMPT AT
A MAJOR MODERATION OF LANGUAGE.

2. LATIN AMERICAN. THIS APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN THE
ONLY REGIONAL ISSUE IN WHICH THE CUBANS TOOK A DIRECT
LEADERSHIP ROLE. THE FINAL LATIN AMERICAN SECTION OF THE
DRAFT COMMUNIQUE, HOWEVER, ENDED UP SOMEWHAT MORE
MODERATE THAN THE CUBAN ORIGINAL. "MODERATES" (ALONG WITH
PERU, INDIA REPORTEDLY ALSO PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE,

PROBABLY BECAUSE OF SPARSE LATIN MEMBERSHIP IN THE NAM) SUCCEEDED IN REMOVING CUBAN CONTENTIOUSNESS FROM THE PARAGRAPH ON PANAMA AND ON WATERING DOWN TOUGH CUBAN CRITICISMS OF GUATEMALA OVER BELIZE. THEY ALSO FORCED CUBA TO BACK OFF TOUGH AMENDMENTS TO THE RELATIVELY UNEXCEPTIONAL CUBAN ORIGINAL LANGUAGE ON PUERTO RICO. IT APPEARS, IN THIS INSTANCE, THAT THE CUBANS DID NOT PUSH AS HARD AS THEY MIGHT HAVE, HAVING MADE A SHOW OF TOUGHNESS TO RETAIN THEIR CREDENTIALS WITH PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE GROUPS.

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3. AFRICA. AFRICAN DELEGATES COMPLETELY REWROTE THE ORIGINAL DRAFT LANGUAGE PROVIDED BY CUBA. THE AFRICAN DRAFT IS PERHAPS A TRIFLE TOUGHER THAN THE CUBAN ORIGINAL BECAUSE OF THE INCLUSION OF SEVERAL CONTENTIOUS OPENING PARAGRAPHS LIFTED FROM THE 1976 DELHI COMMUNIQUE. WESTERN PEACE INITIATIVES WERE SCARCELY MENTIONED--PRIMARILY BECAUSE EMPHASIS ON THEM WOULD HAVE PRODUCED A DIVISIVE BATTLE WHICH NO ONE SEEMS TO HAVE WANTED. THERE WAS NO ATTEMPT TO CRITICIZE THE CUBAN ROLE IN AFRICA. THE YUGOSLAVS TELL US THAT ANY SUCH INITIATIVE WOULD HAVE BROUGHT AN IMMEDIATE COUNTERATTACK ON THE FRENCH ROLE--AND MORE UNWANTED DIVISIONS.

(E) ECONOMIC ISSUES. THE ECONOMIC SECTION OF THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE, WHILE JUST AS THICK AS THE POLITICAL SECTION, SEEMS TO HAVE AROUSED LITTLE INTEREST AND NO CONTENTION IN HAVANA. IT REPEATS OLDER NAM THEMES ON THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE WITHIN THE NAM, STRATEGY FOR THE THIRD DEVELOPMENT DECADE, ETC. OF INTEREST TO THE MISSION IS THAT, FOR ALL ITS CLAIMS TO BE THE "ENERGIZER" OF THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC STRATEGY, THE NAM ALL BUT FINESSED THE ISSUE AT HAVANA. IT HAD NOTHING NEW TO SAY.

(F) WHITHER GOEST NAM? IF ONLY BECAUSE HAVANA WAS NOT A PLENARY, MISSION HESITATES TO DRAW ANY CONCLUSIONS UNTIL AFTER THE BELGRADE MEETING IN JULY. WE WOULD NOTE, HOWEVER:

(1) THE CUBANS ALREADY HAVE LEARNED HOW TO USE ADROITLY THE POWERS OF THE CHAIR, PRIMARILY BY CAREFULLY PICKING THEIR OWN TARGETS AND ALLOWING OTHER "RADICALS" TO TAKE THE LEAD ON MANY ISSUES.

(2) MODERATES, AND ESPECIALLY INDIA, SERVED NOTICE THAT, AT LEAST ON NAM PHILOSOPHY AND GLOBAL ISSUES,

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THEY ARE WILLING TO SCRAP AND THAT THEY CAN HOLD THEIR OWN. ON REGIONAL ISSUES, "MODERATE" RESISTANCE TENDED TO BE DISORGANIZED AND LESS THAN OPTIMALLY EFFECTIVE IN THE FACE OF BETTER ORGANIZED INITIATIVES BY SMALL GROUPS OF REGIONAL "RADICALS" FROM THE MIDDLE EAST (IRAQ, SYRIA, POL, ALGERIA), AFRICA (ANGOLA, GUINEA, ALGERIA) AND ASIA (VIETNAM, KOREA).

(3) THE HAVANA MEETING WAS DIVISIVE EVEN FOR NAM MEETINGS, DESPITE THE COMMON CALL FOR UNITY. MUCH OF THE CONTENTION STEMMED, AS IN THE PAST, FROM REGIONAL QUARRELS. AT HAVANA, HOWEVER, A FAIR PORTION OF THE DIVISIONS RESULTED FROM "MODERATE" (ESPECIALLY INDIAN) REFUSAL TO AGREE TO "RADICAL" ATTEMPTS TO SUBSTANTIALLY PUSH THE IDEOLOGY OF THE NAM IN AN ANTI-WEST DIRECTION. THERE IS EVERY PROSPECT THAT DIVISIVENESS ON BOTH ASPECTS WILL BE CONTINUED IN LATER NAM MEETINGS. HOWEVER, THE WIDESPREAD USE OF RESERVATIONS AT HAVANA (EIGHT ON THE KOREA ITEM, FOR EXAMPLE) MAY PORTEND GREATER USE OF THIS DEVICE FOR NAM STATES SEEKING TO OPPOSE EXTREME POSITIONS BUT UNWILLING OR UNABLE SUCCESSFULLY TO AMEND LANGUAGE IN OPEN SESSION.

(4) THE HAVANA COMMUNIQUE ENDED UP SOMEWHAT MORE "RADICAL" THAN LAST YEAR'S DELHI COMMUNIQUE, MOST NOTABLY ON THE ISSUES OF "NON-ALIGNMENT", DETENTE, MIDDLE EAST, SAHARA, MAYOTTE AND KOREA. PART OF THIS CAN BE ASCRIBED TO THE "HOME FIELD" ADVANTAGE, PART TO SUPERIOR ORGANIZATION AND FOCUS ON THE PART OF THE "RADICALS", AND PART TO THE UNPREDICTABLE DYNAMICS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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NAM AND ITS PERSONALITIES. THE ANSWER TO WHETHER OR NOT THIS REPRESENTS AN IDENTIFIABLE "TREND" MUST AWAIT THE BELGRADE PLENARY. YOUNG

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